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DISSEMINATION CONTROL ABBREVIATIONS

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| NOFORN- | Not Releasable to Foreign Nationals |
| NOCONTRACT- | Not Releasable to Contractors or Contractor/Consultants |
| PROPIN- | Caution-Proprietary Information Involved |
| ORCON- | Dissemination and Extraction of Information Controlled by Originator |
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~~TOP SECRET~~

The Director of Central Intelligence
Washington, D.C. 20505

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National Intelligence Council

8 April 1986

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MEMORANDUM FOR: Director Central Intelligence
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

FROM:

Assistant National Intelligence Officer for Europe

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SUBJECT: Romania: Rumors About Gorbachev's Meddling

Summary. Speculation in Romania that Gorbachev is meddling to influence the Ceausescu succession has been increasing since the first of the year.

- The essence of the rumors is that Gorbachev has sought to sponsor officials--like ex-defense Minister Olteanu and Ion Iliescu a once popular youth leader now in disfavor--who might conceivably become challengers to a weak post-Ceausescu leadership.

The stories remain uncorroborated

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SUMMARY

1.

There are several potential factors which might motivate such speculation in Romania.

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- The rumors could indicate that some Romanians are beginning to think that Gorbachev may be their only hope in ending Ceausescu's ever tightening grip and stopping a dynastic succession by the hated Ceausescu clan.
- The rumors could be deliberate efforts by the Ceausescu clan to speed-up their pre-succession game plan and to discredit possible challengers.

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- The rumors might be either initiated or used by Ceausescu to "cry wolf" in hopes of increasing Western support for his regime. (We know for example that Romania is again having cash flow problems and is trying to find a way to wheedle an IMF standby loan by May without accepting new conditionality. Bucharest also has a tough fight this year in retaining MFN status due to heightened Congressional criticism of his human rights record.)

For now I lean toward the latter theory but elements of all three could be at work. It is important to clarify the real reason because either of the first two theories--serious morale problems or factional infighting--could invite actual Soviet meddling and the third is a potentially important factor in how the US and the West respond to Romania's requests.

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2. The rumors of course could reflect a serious Kremlin effort to either shape events in Romania or, at minimum, to make a gesture in support of "healthy " pro-Soviet forces. But lacking signs of new strains in Romanian-Soviet ties or evidence from Soviet or other Communist sources that Gorbachev is meddling, this explanation appears very weak.

- Bucharest itself is giving no sign of being under heightened Soviet pressure. Ceausescu's recent policy pronouncements fit a pattern begun several years ago when he became marginally more cooperative in hopes of winning trade concessions from the USSR. Romania has agreed to new cooperation--like a joint, expert-level, effort to overcome polemics on historical disputes. Ongoing cooperation involves Soviet technicians helping to install new SAM-2 sites at Resita and to reactivate a uranium mine.

3. The evidence is consistent with the NID analysis of 3 April that the USSR is sticking to its waiting game strategy regarding Romania.

- Most observers concede that Gorbachev dislikes the mismanagement and nepotism of the Ceausescu regime and also would dislike a Ceausescu dynastic succession. But there is no overt Soviet criticism to support assertions of Soviet threats or meddling.

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-- Nor has Moscow made major concessions to Romania. Gorbachev gave Ceausescu a lukewarm public reception at the CPSU congress--the usual treatment for a maverick in a gathering of Soviet allies. And Gorbachev reportedly ignored Ceausescu's efforts to introduce economic negotiations into bilateral talks.

In short, if Soviet deception is at work it is a good job.

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SC No. 8213-86
8 April 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director Central Intelligence
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

FROM: [REDACTED]
Assistant National Intelligence Officer for Europe

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SUBJECT: Romania: Rumors About Gorbachev's Meddling

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Assistant NIO for Europe

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8 April 1986

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